

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15  
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P 081200Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7425  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1146

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PDEV, SF, US  
SUBJECT: BOTHA'S PREPARED STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES RELATIONS

FOLLOWING IS THE HANSARD VERSION OF THE PREPARED STATEMENT ON  
SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES BY FOREIGN MINISTER  
BOTHA IN THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON JUNE 5. BOTHA'S SUBSEQUENT,  
LARGELY EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS THE SAME DAY REPORTED SEPTTEL.

QUOTE:  
I HAVE SAID THAT I SHOULD LIKE TO DEVOTE ATTENTION THIS  
AFTERNOON TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USA. THERE ARE GOOD REASONS  
FOR THAT. THE USA IS THE LEADER OF THE WEST, AND TO A VERY LARGE  
EXTENT OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USA ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR  
RELATIONS WITH VIRTUALLY ALL OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.  
THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS, THERE ARE AD HOC DIFFERENCES  
AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES ON A BILATERAL LEVEL BETWEEN SOUTH  
AFRICA AND THE VARIOUS WESTERN COUNTRIES. INSTEAD OF GIVING A  
REVIEW ON A COUNTRY BY COUNTRY BASIS, WE CAN SHORTEN THE MATTER  
BY RATHER GIVING A REVIEW OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USA,  
BECAUSE THEY ARE SO IMPORTANT TO US AND ARE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF OUR RELATIONS WITH MOST OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, SOUTH AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS MUST BE SEEN  
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IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND POLICIES OF THE PRESENT  
UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION, WHICH CAME TO POWER AT THE  
BEGINNING OF 1977. THE PRESENT UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION  
SEES THAT THE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE IN THE PURSUIT OF INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS LIES WITH THE WESTERN TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED  
COUNTRIES RATHER THAN WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC. THERE ARE TWO  
REASONS FOR THIS. FIRSTLY, THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD REQUIRES

VAST ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE, WHICH MAINLY THE WESTERN WORLD CAN GIVE IT. EVEN THE COMMUNIST WORLD REQUIRES TECHNOLOGICAL KNOW-HOW FROM THE WEST. SECONDLY, AT THIS STAGE IN HISTORY, THE THIRD WORLD'S POTENTIAL WEALTH CONSISTS SUBSTANTIALLY OF RAW MATERIALS, AND THE WEST FORMS THE MAJOR MARKET FOR THEIR RAW MATERIALS. FLOWING FROM THIS PERCEPTION, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONCLUDED THAT IT SHOULD RATHER EMPHASIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AND NOT SEEK TO COUNTER SOVIET INITIATIVES AND EXPANSIONS AT EVERY POINT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF GOVERNMENTS WHICH MAY COME TO POWER IN THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, IT IS FELT THAT ECONOMIC REALITIES WILL SOONER OR LATER COMPEL ALL OF THEM TO SEEK CO-OPERATION WITH THE WEST. THUS, ANTI-COMMUNISM OR ANTI-MARXISM, AS HAS BEEN THE CONSISTENT POLICY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN

GOVERNMENT,

IS NOT NECESSARILY REGARDED AS A VIRTUE BY THE UNITED STATES ANY LONGER. THIS IS A FACT, PAINFUL AS IT MIGHT SOUND.

IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES ASSUMES THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD OVER-EXTEND HERSELF AND THAT SHE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO FULFIL THE RISING EXPECTATIONS WHICH HER PRESENCE IN AFRICA IS GENERATING. SOONER OR LATER, THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS BROUGHT INTO BEING BY RUSSIAN SUBVERSION AND INTERVENTION, WOULD BECOME UNCLASSIFIED

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DISILLUSIONED, AND THEY THEMSELVES WOULD SOMEHOW GET RID OF THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS, OR IN THE WORDS OF JOSEPH KRAFT, A COLUMNIST WRITING IN THE WASHINGTON POST ON 20 APRIL 1978; "THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA IS TO PLAY FOR TIME AND HOPE THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL, AS THEY HAVE SO OFTEN IN THE PAST, SPOIL THEIR OWN GAME."

THERE MIGHT BE MERIT IN THIS ARGUMENT AND REASONING BUT THEN ONLY FROM THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW, NOT FROM THE AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW. IF THE UNITED STATES IS PROVED RIGHT, IT COULD CONCEIVABLY WORK OUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT, AFTER THE LAPSE OF YEARS, IF NOT DECADES, RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN AFRICA MIGHT BE REDUCED. YES, I CONCEDE THAT. HOWEVER, THE MODERATE AFRICAN LEADER CORRECTLY SEES YEARS AND YEARS OF SOVIET DOMINATION AND SUFFERING AHEAD OF HIM, AND FOR HIM IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HOPE THAT PERHAPS SOMEDAY A NEW FLOWER MIGHT ARISE FROM THE DESOLATION AND DESTRUCTION INHERENT IN SOVIET IMPERIALISM. IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION TAKES ITS CUE FROM THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES, IN BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND IN TAKING INSPIRATION FROM THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE HUMAN RIGHTS AN

IMPORTANT, IF NOT THE MAIN, PILLAR OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY.  
THE ADMINISTRATION IS BEHOLDEN TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE FOR  
ITS ELECTION TO POWER AND ITS ASPIRATIONS TO REPEAT ITS ELECTION  
VICTORY IN 1980 TO THE BLACK ELECTORATE IN AMERICA AND IS THUS  
BENDING OVER BACKWARDS NOT TO FORFEIT THE SUPPORT OF THE BLACK  
AMERICAN VOTER. IN THIS PROCESS THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION  
IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE ABOUT ANY FRIENDLY ASSOCIATION WITH  
WHITE SOUTH AFRICA, ASSUMING THAT WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE  
THE ENEMIES OF BLACK PEOPLE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THIS IS  
NOT ONLY AN ENORMOUS ERROR, BUT IN PROCEEDING FROM SUCH A PREMISE  
GRAVE INJUSTICES ARE PERPETRATED AGAINST ALL SOUTH AFRICANS; BLACK,  
WHITE AND COLOURED. WE MUST ALL PAY THE PRICE.

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1146

ANOTHER RELATED ASPECT OF THIS ISSUE IS THAT THE PROPONENTS OF  
MAJORITY RULE IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARE THE MULTIRACIAL  
SOCIETY IN THEIR COUNTRY WITH THE MULTINATIONAL SITUATION IN THE  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
CONTINUE TO EQUATE THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN BLACK WITH THAT  
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK. WE REJECT THIS EQUATION. THE AMERICAN  
BLACK IS AN AMERICAN WHO WAS DIVESTED OF HIS AFRICAN PERSONALITY,  
LANGUAGE, CULTURE, TRADITIONS AND WAY OF LIFE, LIVING IN HIS  
CONTINENT. THE PROBLEM OF THE UNITED STATES IS INDEED EXCLUSIVELY  
ONE OF RACE AND MINORITY RIGHTS. OURS IS THAT OF ACCOMMODATING  
THE DEMANDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF DIFFERING NATIONALISMS.

PRES. CARTER'S ASSUMPTION OF POWER COINCIDED APPROXIMATELY WITH  
THE REALIZATION, IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT IT WAS NO LONGER  
SELF-SUFFICIENT IN RAW MATERIALS, AND PARTICULARLY THAT  
IT WAS VULNERABLE IN REGARD TO OIL. THIS FACT HAS GIVEN RISE  
TO A DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP WITH NIGERIA. THE UNITED STATES FEELS  
THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE FOR ITS OWN INTERESTS TO MAINTAIN THE BEST

POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA. MANY BELIEVE THAT IN THIS CASE THE STRICT APPLICATIONS OF HIGH MORAL ATTITUDES MIGHT BE TOO EXPENSIVE.

THUS EVANS AND NOVAK, TWO ASSOCIATED COLUMNISTS, WROTE IN WASHINGTON POST OF 12 APRIL 1978 -  
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"CARTER WOUND UP EQUATING THE UNITED STATES AND NIGERIA IN MAKING 'EVERY EFFORT TO ENHANCE HUMAN RIGHTS' ACTUALLY, NON-IDEOLOGICAL FREEDOM HOUSE CALLS NIGERIA 'PARTLY FREE' AND GIVES IT A FIVE RATING IN POLITICAL RIGHTS OUT OF A WORST POSSIBLE SEVEN, WORSE THAN BRAZIL'S FOUR. THE PRESIDENT WAS COMPARING THE UNITED STATES TO A COUNTRY WHERE PUBLIC EXECUTIONS ARE HELD, WHERE AMERICAN NEWSMEN ARE EXCLUDED AND WHERE MILITARY RULE STILL PREVAILS. WHY THAT EXTRAORDINARY TREATMENT FOR NIGERIA? ONE CYNICAL HIGH-RANKING UNITED STATES OFFICIAL SAYS THERE IS A 'THREE LETTER ANSWER': OIL."

ALSO UNDERLYING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN THE SHOCK DEFEAT AND HUMILIATION IN VIETNAM, WHICH HAS GIVEN RISE TO A RESOLVE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT TO BECOME MILITARILY INVOLVED ABROAD AGAIN. AS A PROMINENT AMERICAN SENATOR PUT IT TO ME PERSONALLY DURING MY TENURE OF OFFICE IN WASHINGTON WHEN WE DISCUSSED THE ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN AFRICA AT THAT TIME- AND I VIVIDLY REMEMBER THE WORDS OF THAT CONSERVATIVE SENATOR- "WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO HAVE OUR SONS SENT ALL OVER THE WORLD ANY LONGER TO BE SHOT IN WARS WHICH WE IN ANY CASE DO NOT WANT TO WIN."

THE RESULT OF THESE FACTORS TOGETHER HAS BEEN THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS CONCLUDED THAT GOOD RELATIONS WITH WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THE EXPENSE OF ITS RELATIONS WITH AFRICA WERE NOT IN ITS INTEREST; THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNAL POLICIES ARE IRRECONCILABLE WITH ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND WITH ITS OWN CONCEPT OF THE DIGNITY OF MAN AND THAT THERE ARE NOT STRONG ENOUGH REASONS TO SOFT-PEDAL THIS ISSUE; THAT IT WILL ON NO ACCOUNT INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN ANY CONFLICT WHICH MIGHT EMERGE IN AFRICA; THAT THE ONLY SATISFACTORY POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IT WILL ACCEPT AS THE BASIS FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES IS A POLICY OF MAJORITY RULE  
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IN ONE GEOGRAPHICAL ENTITY, AS EXPOUNDED BY VICE-PRESIDENT MONDALE IN VIENNA, OR "FULL PARTICIPATION", WHATEVER THAT MIGHT MEAN.

IN FACT, THERE HAVE BEEN EFFORTS TO MODERATE SOME OF THE EXTREME STATEMENTS SINCE VIENNA. I WELCOME THESE EFFORTS, BUT WE ARE STILL WAITING FOR A CLEAR STATEMENT OR EXPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH WOULD REASSURE US THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT IN FACT SEEKING A SOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA BASED ON MAJORITY RULE IN A SINGLE CONSTITUTIONAL ENTITY.

THIS IS A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONS AS I SEE IT AT PRESENT. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS KNOWN OF UNITED STATES POLICY VIS-A-VIS SOUTH AFRICA, I MUST CONCLUDE THAT THE UNITED STATES' VIEWPOINT IS THAT THE WHITES MUST IN DUE COURSE ACCEPT A SUBORDINATE ROLE IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, BUT THEIR PRESENCE WOULD BE TOLERATED TO KEEP THE ECONOMY GOING. I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION AT ANOTHER OCCASION, WHEN I WILL ALSO DEAL WITH THE ASPECTS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN AND RHODESIAN ISSUES.  
END QUOTE.  
EDMONDSON

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